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This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

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The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiripuano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiripuano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiripuano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tumpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiripuano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiripuano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiripuano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

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"tree-of-life," or "mother-of-all-trees," which was placed by Tunpa on the earth and then disappeared, leaving all food plants as its offspring.

A flood, which once covered the world, was caused by the curse of a young woman who was insulted by her mother-in-law. In another version of this myth, the flood resulted from a storm brought about by a man with wings (Thunderbird). A boy and a girl were placed in a jar with all kinds of seeds and, when the waters subsided, they planted these seeds and repeopled the world.

There are two versions of the myth of the origin of fire. In one, fire was stolen from Sun by the children who escaped the flood; in the other, fire, which was the property of the Vultures, was stolen by a Toad who, pretending to be cold, came near the fire and stole some embers.

The leading characters of *Chiriguano-Chané* folklore are Armadillo (Tatu) and Fox (Aguara), whose names, when mentioned in the various stories, are always followed by the adjective, "tunpa" (sacred). Armadillo is a wise and powerful character, always well disposed toward mankind. Aguara-tunpa (Fox) is a trickster, though in many cases he also plays the part of a culture hero. For instance, Fox steals algarroba seeds from Viscacha (*Lagostomus maximus*), he captures Vulture and forces him to yield the original rubber ball as his ransom. Tatu-tunpa and Aguara-tunpa have several adventures together. On one occasion Aguara-tunpa changes Tatu-tunpa into a repulsive man in order to marry the pretty daughter of a chief while his companion gets the ugly one. Tatu-tunpa shows his greater power by magically tilling a huge field which is instantaneously covered with all kinds of foods. Aguara-tunpa is then unmasked.

Aguara-tunpa kills Tatu-tunpa and puts on his skin, in order to deceive the latter's wife. Again he is unmasked and punished.

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The old *Tupi-Guarani* myth of the Twins was also recorded among the *Chiriguano* (Métraux, 1930 b). A girl is magically impregnated by Tatu-tunpa. She is expelled from her village and wanders in search of the father of the Twins who she bears in her womb and who speak to her. The Twins show her the path to their father's house, but, becoming angry at her, they mislead her to the house of the Jaguars, who kill her. The Twins are brought up by their grandmother. Later they hear about the murder of their mother from a yacu bird. They take revenge on the Jaguars by attempting to drown them when they cross a river by making it wider and wider. Finally, the Twins climb up a chain of arrows to the sky, where they become Sun and Moon.

The *Chiriguano* also have a version of the old *Mayoa* and *Ambua* myth of the rebellion of manufactured objects against their masters.

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● 773 The Chiriguano Indian has a confused idea about the end of the world, which he calls "ara iyapi," a temporal term. At that time, he says, "andira guasu," a large bat, will appear, will eat us up, and everything will come to an end. The lechuza and the buho are enemies of the bat, and they kill it not just for the sake of killing, but because it is delicious food for them.

* 13[illegible]
* 825 PALOMA /dove/. -- There are four types, to wit: torcaces /wild pigeons/, mueneñas, ulanchas, and tórtolas /turtledoves/, whose respective names in /Gü/ Chiriguano are "picaso, picasüi, picui, yeruti." The large ones go in flocks which obscure the sun in the season and after the maize harvest in May, June, July, and August. The middle-sized ones are called mueneñas, because their regular abode is in the thickets; they too are numerous and perhaps more delicious than the first. They are as sociable as the torcaces, and they fly in very large flocks. The ulanchas, which are very small, are much more abundant and delicious; they approach houses and even come into the patios. They look for trees with full tops to sleep in. The last-named, as I have already said, are a kind of turtledove and go in pairs. Their song is very sad.

223 To catch the torcaces the Indian climbs a tree where they roost in numbers and sets and ties one which he has caught alive; he makes a kind of oven with straw, open underneath, and hides there. He carries arrows and waits for the torcaces to come to visit their companion, and, if they do not see the enemy who is hidden there, they are wounded and many fall, until the Indian runs out of arrows. The same thing is done on the ground where they come down to drink.

They kill the mueneñas and ulanchas at night. Both children and adults go about with torches of fire, the latter blinds them, they fall, and they kill them with clubs. In May and June in certain pampas and low hills, a spectator may think he is witnessing the strategy which Hannibal used against Fabius Maximus, when, in order to make his way through the narrow pass of Casilino Valley near the Volturno

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Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call "Tupajire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called: century of the globes?

They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water: he then opened the gates or doors of the seas and flooded the whole land: the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Ipara," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Chaguán," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Curuyu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani," which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

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000 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

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2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

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As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

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1. A woman of some 25 years of age

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776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

•773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admirable and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

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• 793 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rain, Iporu (?), in order to destroy the Chiriguano

[92] 2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; pey means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literally: he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tumpaete, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, coimbae, culla, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (?).

[92] 3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Curuyuqui, salt which cures mange. The

[114] pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

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793 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

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1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

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The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

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Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

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wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Cathotic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

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1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others,to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

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773 In this beautiful and picturesque place there were fruit trees of all kinds, the fruits that they produced were beautiful to see and agreeable to the palate. Before leaving them the Tunpa gave them free use of all the fruit produced by the trees, prohibiting them from touching and eating the fruit of only one.

826 773 After a few days the man, passing under the prohibited tree and seeing the beauty of its fruit, said, "Why would God not want us to eat such beautiful fruit? There would not be anything bad in my simply tasting them, and furthermore he cannot see me." So he took one and put it in his mouth to eat, but at the same time that he was doing this he turned his head, and the fruit, instead of going down to his stomach, stuck in his throat, thus forming the haseuranti, or what is commonly called the Adam's apple (2).

> 2. The woman never touched the forbidden fruit, and the proof is that there is nothing in her throat; there is no haseuranti or Adam's apple; this is what the Indian himself says.

773 According to the account the woman did not eat the forbidden fruit, but in spite of this she felt the effects of the disobedience of her husband or companion, since, like him, she was ashamed of being /138/ naked and she felt the stirrings of concupiscence, which previously neither she nor the man had felt, and as a consequence of which they were united matrimonially, only after having broken the divine precept.

The Tunpa was not long in appearing, and before him they were both ashamed to see themselves naked, and they covered their nakedness by sitting huddled up on the ground. The Tunpa, who knew everything, called them to him gently, forgiving their sin, and gave them each proper clothing, and bade them farewell, allowing them to multiply.

The Indian, as anyone can understand, sees this as the reorganization of the Chiriguano race, but we can all see in this story the creation of man, his primordial innocence, his life in paradise, the prohibition which God imposed on him,

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• 993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprehension (1).

> 1. This story lacks the promise of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapters of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Americas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

> 2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctesuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the [212] first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no [174] writing. It is descended from the Guaraní, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

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795 The Iboca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

2. In Iboca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Cuarasigüi, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun; in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigüi.

793 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify. /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

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1. The Chiriguano words ava, hae, hüü, and mahanu?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, hüm, and mahanu?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

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same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano? Guarerai, Indian, Ifiré iya vae, eloquent one, told the following story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi: do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

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I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (2).

> 2. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

/155 cont./

•793 821 As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114 821 On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The [191] missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/177 cont./

Fire

354
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the 372 inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place 177 which is not far away, as happens at the time of general plant- 178 ing, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated [435] and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will [296] save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973] 1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

/178 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The [515] [302] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

4: Nino--274 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/199 cont./

301

5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6. ?, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.

412 12. Wooden comb.

534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14. 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

~~005~~ The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion: faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792 793 871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/232 cont./

301
171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

> 2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembera is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapií of Isoso are small, and those of the Chiriguí and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

> 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

331
773 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punish-
776 ment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
•773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy. I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

4: Nino--323 M-9 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 793 996 It was also the Aguara-Tumpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tumpa, For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

6: Nordenskiöld--77 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 5710 Chiriguano

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck, Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Chorotí, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Chorotí and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ca 821 /104 cont./

"ándaityaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "ándaipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "cuemiña," morning; Orion with the sword "hüirayüasa" (hands sweep). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "tapíri," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ca 821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ca 821 805 The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /[illegible]/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, Ca [24] the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ca 821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C 821 773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ca [821] [773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuése hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.